REAL PREPAREDNESS IS VIGOROUSLY URGED

Protection for American Lives and Property Insisted Upon.

MEXICAN PLANS ARE ATTACKED

Votes for Women and an Adequate Tariff Law Urged as Vital.

Following is the text of Mr. Hughes's speech of acceptance, delivered at Carnegie Hall last night:

Senator Harding, members of the Notification Committee, and fellow

citizens: This occasion is more than a This occasion is more than a mere ceremony of notification. We are not here to indulge in formal expressions. We come to state in a plain and direct manner our faith, our purpose and our pledge. This representative gathering is a happy augury. It means the strength of reunion. It means that

alert, effective. It means the unity of a common perception of paramount national needs. It means that we are neither deceived nor benumbed by abnormal conditions. We know that we are in a critical period, perhaps more critical than any period since the Civil War. We need a dominant sense of national unity; the exercise of our best constructive powers; the vigor and resourcefulness of a quickened America. We desire that the Republican party as a great liberal party shall be the agency of national achievement, the organ of the effective expression of dominant Americanism. What do I mean by that? I mean America conscious of power, awake to obligation, erect in self-respect, prepared for every emergency, devoted to the ideals of peace instinct with tion, erect in self-respect, prepared for every emergency, devoted to the ideals of peace, instinct with the spirit of human brotherhood, safeguarding both individual opportunity and the public interest, maintaining a well ordered constitutional system adapted to local self-government without the sacriself-government without the sacri-fice of essential national authority, fice of essential national authority, appreciating the necessity of stability, expert knowledge and thorough organization as the indispensable conditions of security and progress; a country loved by its citizens with a patriotic fervor permitting no division in their allegiance and no rivals in their affection—I mean America first and America efficient. It is in this spirit that I respond to your summons.

Foreign Relations and Appointments

Our foreign relations have assumed grave importance in the past three years. The conduct of diplomatic intercourse is in the keeping of the Executive. It rests chiefly with him whether we shall show competence or incompetence; whether the national honor shall be maintained; whether our prestige and influence shall be lowered or advanced. What is the record of the Administration?

The first duty of the Executive was to command the respect of the world by the personnel of our State Department and our representation abroad. No party exigency could excuse the non-performance of this obvious obligation. Still, after making every allowance for cer-

obvious obligation. Still, after making every allowance for certain commendable appointments, it is apparent that this obligation was not performed. At the very beginning of the present Administration, where in the direction of diplomatic intercourse there should have been convenient extractly and respect, we invited distrust of our competence and speculation as to our capacity for firmness and decision, thus entailing many diffi-culties which otherwise easily could have been escaped.

Veteran Diplomats Retired,

Then, in numerous instances, notably in Latin America, where such a course was particularly reprehensible and where we desire to encourage the most friendly rela-tions, men of long diplomatic ex-perience, whose knowledge and perienced persons. Where, as in Santo Domingo, we had assumed an important special trust in the interest of its people, that trust was shockingly betrayed in order to satisfy "deserving Democrats." The record showing the Administration's disregard of its responsibilities with respect to our representation in diplomacy is an open book and the specifications may easily be had.

Cites Herrick Case.

It is a record revealing profes-sions belied. It is a dismal record to those who believe in American-ism. Take, for example, the with-drawal of Ambassador Herrick drawal of Ambassador Herrick from France. There he stood, in the midst of alarms, the very embodiment of courage, of poise, of executive capacity, universally trusted and beloved. No diplomat ever won more completely the affections of a foreign people; and there was no better fortune for this country than to have at the capital of any one of the belligerent nations a representative thus exteemed. Yet the Administration permitted itself to supersede him. The point is not that the man was Ambassador Herrick or that the nation was France, but that we invited the attention of the world to the inexcusable yielding of national interest to partisan expediency.

expediency.

It was a lamentable sacrifice of international repute. If we would have the esteem of foreign nations we must deserve it. We must show

rendy to recognize had he achieved his end and fulfilled what then seemed to be its hope. The question is not as to the non-recognition of Huerta. The Administration did not content its

Administration did not content itself with refusing to recognize
Huerta, who was recognized by
Great Britain, Germany, France,
Russia, Spain and Japan. The
Administration undertook to destroy Huerta, to control Mexican politics, even to deny Huerta
the right to be a candidate for
the office of President at the
election the Administration de-

election the Administration de-

the Mexicans have regarded our assertion of their right to manage their own affairs! In the summer of 1913 John Lind was dispatched to the City of Mexico as the President's "personal spokesman and representative" to the

man and representative to the unrecognized Huerta in order to demand that the latter eliminate himself. It was an unjustifiable mission, most offensive to a sensitive people. John Lind lingered irritatingly. The Administration continued to direct its efforts at the destruction of the only government Mexico had

Landing at Vera Cruz.

In the spring of 1914 occurred the capture of Vera Cruz. Men from one of our ships had been arrested at Tampico and had been discharged with an apology. But our admiral demanded a salute, which was refused. Thereupon the President went to Congress, asking authority to use the armed forces of the United States.

Without waiting for the passage

forces of the United States.

Without waiting for the passage of the resolution Vera Cruz was seized. It appeared that a shipload of ammunition for Huerta was about to enter that port. There was a natural opposition to this invasion and a battle occurred in which sineteen Americans and over a hundred Mexicans were killed.

This of course was war. Our

This, of course, was war. Our dead soldiers were praised for dy-

government Mexico had.

On the Mexican Difficulty

The dealings of the Administra-tion with Mexico constitute a con-fused chapter of blunders. We have not helped Mexico. She lies prostrate, impoverished, famineof anarchy which the course of the of anarchy which the course of the Administration only served to pro-mote. For ourselves, we have wit-nessed the murder of our citizens and the destruction of their prop-erty. We have made enemies, not Instead of commanding respect

and deserving good will by sincerity, firmness and consistency we provoked misapprehension and deep resentment. In the light of the conduct of the Administration no one could understand its profes-

Decrying interference, we inter-Decrying interference, we inter-fered most exasperatingly. We have not even kept out of actual conflict, and the soil of Mexico is stained with the blood of our sol-diers. We have resorted to physi-cal invasion, only to retire with-out gaining the professed object. It is a record which cannot be ex-amined without a profound sense of humiliation.

Huerta Incident Recalled.

When the Administration came into power Huerta was exercising authority as Provisional President of Mexico. He was certainly in fact the head of the government of Mexico. Whether or not he should Mexico. Whether or not he should be recognized was a question to be determined in the exercise of a sound discretion, but according to correct principles. The President was entitled to be assured that there was at least a de facto government; that international obligations would be performed; that the lives and property of American citizens would have proper protection.

To attempt, however, to control

dead soldiers were praised for dying like heroes in a war of service. Later, we retired from Vera Cruz, giving up this noble warfare. We had not obtained the salute which was demanded. We had not obtained reparation for affronts. The ship with ammunition which could not land at Vera Cruz had soon landed at another port, and its cargo was delivered to Huerta without interference. Recently the naked truth was admitted by a Cabinet officer. 10 VENUS 17 Black Degrees For those who demand

We are now informed that "we did not go to Vera Cruz to force Huerta to salute the flag." We are told that we went there "to show Mexico that we were in earnest in our demand that Huerta must go." That is, we seized Vera Cruz to depose Huerta. The question of the salute was a mere pretext.

Why We Went to Mexico.

utterly failed to perform its obvi-ous duty to secure protection for the lives and property of our citi-zens. It is most unworthy to slar those who have investments in Mexico in order to escape a con-

demnation for the non-performance of this duty. There can be no such escape, for we have no debate, and there can be no debate, as to the existence of this duty on the part of our government.

Let me quote the words of the Democratic platform of 1912: "The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States government, both for himself and his property." The bitter hatred aroused by the course of the Administration multiplied of the Administration multiplied outrages, while our failure to af-ford protection to our citizens evoked the scorn and contempt of

Incident at Tampico.

Incident at Tampico.

Consider the ignominious incident at Tampico in connection with the capture of Vera Cruz. In the midst of the greatest danger to the hundreds of Americans congregated at Tampico, our ships which were in the harbor were withdrawn and our citizens were saved only by the intervention of German officers and were taken away by British and German ships. The official excuse of the Secretary of the Navy is an extraordinary commentary.

Our ships, it seems, had been ordered to Vera Cruz; but, as it appeared that they were not needed, the order was reseined. Then, we are told, our admiral was faced with this remarkable dilemma: If he attempted to go up the river at Tampico and take our citizens on board, the word of "aggressive action," as the Secretary called it, "would have spread to the surrounding country" and it was "almost certain that reprisals on American citizens would have been lost." lowed and lives would have been lost."

We had so incensed the Mexicans We had so incensed the Mexicans that we could not rescue our own citizens at Tampico, save at the risk of the murder of others. We must take Vera Cruz to get Huerta out of office and trust to other nations to get our own citizens out of peril. What a travesty of international policy!

Export of Munitions.

Destroying the government of Huerta, we left Mexico to the ravages of revolution. I shall not attempt to narrate the sickening story of the barbarities committed, of the carnival of murder and lust. We were then told that Mexico was entitled to spill as much blood as she pleased to settle her affairs. The Administration vacillated with respect to the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to Mexico. Under the resolution of 1912 President Taft had laid such an embargo.

1912 President Taft had laid such an embargo.

In August, 1913, President Wilson stated that he deemed it his duty to see that neither side to the struggle in Mexico should receive any assistance from this side of the border and that the export of all arms and munitions to Mexico would be forbidden. But in February, 1914, the embargo was lifted. In April, 1914, the embargo was restored. In May, 1914, it was explained that the embargo did not apply to American shipments through Mexican ports, and amapply to American shipments through Mexican ports, and ammunition for Carranza was subsequently landed at Tampico. In September, 1914, the embargo was lifted on exports across the border: thereupon military supplies reached both Villa and Carranza. In October, 1915, an embargo was declared on all exports of arms except to the adherents of Carranza. There was an utter absence of consistent policy.

Then Came Carranza.

For a time we bestowed friendship on Villa. Ultimately we recognized Carranza, not on the
ground that he had a constitutional government, but that it was
a de facto government. The compiete failure to secure protection
to American citizens is shown conclusively in the note of the Secretary of State of June 20, 1916, in
which he thus described the conditions that have obtained during the

which he thus described the conditions that have obtained during the last three years:

"For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt nt punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice.

"It would be tedious to recount

instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, it illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed."

Columbus and Carrizal,

Columbus and Carrizal.

The Santa Ysabel massacre, the raid at Columbus, the bloodshed at Carrizal, are fresh in your minds. After the Columbus raid we started a "punitive expedition." We sent a thin line of troops hundreds of miles into Mexico, between two lines of railway, neither of which we were allowed to use and which we did not feel at liberty to seize. We were refused permission to enter the towns. Though thus restricted, the enterprise was still regarded by the Mexicans as a menace. Our troops faced hostile forces, and it is not remarkable that our men fell at Carrizal. What other result could be expected? We were virtually ordered to withdraw, and without accomplishing our purpose we have been withdrawing and we are now endeavoring to safeguard our own territory. The entire National Guard has been ordered out, and many thousands of our citizens have been taken from their peaceful employment and hurried to the Mexican border. The Administration was to seize and punish Villa for his outrage on our soil. It has not punished any one; we went in only to retire, and future movements are apparently to be determined by a joint commission.

No Policy of Aggression.

The nation has no policy of aggression toward Mexico. We have no desire for any part of her territory. We wish her to have peace, stability and prosperity. We should be ready to aid her in binding up her wounds, in relieving her from starvation and distress, and in given the her in every practicable way starvation and distress, and in giv-ing her in every practicable way the benefits of our disinterested friendship. The conduct of this Administration has created diffi-culties which we shall have to sur-

antipathy needlessly created by

that conduct and to develop gen-uine respect and confidence. We shall have to adopt a new policy, a policy of firmness and consistency, through which alone we can pro-mote an enduring friendship. We demand from Mexico the protection of the lives and the property of our citizens and the security of our border from depredations. Much will be gained if Mexico is con-vinced that we contemplate no

many years of vacillation, Maintenance of American Rights

In this land of composite population, drawing its strength from every race, the national security demands that there shall be no paltering with American rights. The greater the danger of divisive influences, the greater is the necessity for the unifying force of a just, strong and patriotic position. We countenance no covert policies, no intrigues, no secret schemes.

We are unreservedly, devotedly, whole heartedly for the United States. That is the rallying point for all Americans. That is my position. I stand for the unflinching maintenance of all American rights on land and sea.

We have had a clear and definite mission as a great neutral nation. It was for us to maintain the integrity of international law; to vindicate our rights as neutrals; to protect the lives of our citizens, their property and trade from wrongful acts.

Brave Words Only.

Brave Words Only.

Putting aside any question as to the highest possibilities of moral leadership in the maintenance and vindication of the law of nations in connection with the European war, at least we were entitled to the safeguarding of American rights. But this has not been secured. We have had brave words in a series of notes, but despite our protests the lives of Americans have been destroyed.

our protests the lives of Americans have been destroyed.

What does it avail to use some of the strongest words known to diplomacy if ambassadors can receive the impression that the words are not to be taken seriously? It is not words, but the strength and resolution behind the words, that count. The chief function of diplomacy is prevention; but in this our diplomacy failed, doubtless because of its impaired credit and the manifest lack of disposition to back words with action. tion to back words with action

Vigorous Action Needed.

Had this government by the use of both informal and formal diplomatic opportunities left no doubt that when we said "strict accuntability" we meant precisely what we said, and that we should unhesitatingly vindicate that position. I am confident that there would have been no destruction of American lives by the sinking of the Lusitania. There, we had ample notice: in fact, published notice, Furthermore, we knew the situation and we did not require specific retice.

Instead of whittling away our Instead of whittling away our formal statements by equivocal conversations, we needed the straight, direct and decisive representations which every diplomat and foreign effice would understand. I believe that in this way we should have been spared the repeated assaufts of American lives. Moreover, a firm American policy would have been strongly supported by our meddlesome interference with what does not concern us, but that we propose to insist in a firm and candid manner upon the performance of international obligations.

To a stable government, appropriately discharging its international duties, we should give ungrudging support. A short period of firm, consistent and friendly dealing will accomplish more than many years of vaciliation.

people and the opportunities for the development of bitter feeling would have been vastly reduced. Weakness Leads to War.

Weakness Leads to war.

It is a great mistake to say that resoluteness in protecting American rights would have led to war. Rather, in that course lay the best assurance of peace. Weakness and indecision in the maintenance of known rights are always sources of grave danger; they forfeit respect and invite serious wrongs, which in turn create an uncontrollable popular resentment. That is not the path of national security.

is not the path of national se-curity.

Not only have we a host of re-sources short of war by which to enforce our just demands, but we shall never promote our peace by heing stronger in words than in deeds. We should not have found it difficult to maintain peace, but we should have maintained peace with honor. During this critical period the only danger of war has lain in the weak course of the Administration.

American Interests Sacrificed.

I do not put life and property on the same footing, but the Admin-istration has not only been remiss with respect to the protection of American lives, it has been remiss with respect to the protection of American property and American commerce. It has been to much disposed to be content with sisure-

commerce. It has been to much disposed to be content with .cisurely discussion.

I cannot now undertake to review the course of events, but it is entirely clear that we failed to use the resources at our command to prevent injurious action and that we suffered in consequence. We have no ulterior purposes, and the Administration should have known how to secure the entire protection of every legitimate American interest and the prompt recognition of our just demands as

Foreign Plots Denounced.

We denounce all plots and con-spiracies in the interest of any foreign nation. Utterly intolerable is the use of our soil for alien in-trigues. Every American must untrigues. Every American must unreservedly condemn them and support every effort for their suppression. But here, also, prompt, vigorous and adequate measures on
the pari of the Administration
were needed. There should have
been no hesitation, no notion that
it was wise and politic to delay.
Such an abuse of our territory
demanded immediate and thoroughgoing action. As soon as the
Administration had notice of plots
and conspiracies it was its duty to

and conspiracies it was its duty to stop them. It was not lacking in resources. Its responsibility for their continuance cannot be ex-caped by the condemnation of others.

Preparedness for the United States

We are a peace loving people, but we live in a world of arms. We have no thought of aggression, and we desire to pursue our demo-cratic ideals without the wastes of cratic ideals without the wastes of strife. So devoted are we to these ideals, so intent upon our normal development, that I do not believe that there is the slightest danger of militarism in this country. Adequate preparedness is not militarism. It is the essential assurance of security; it is a necessary safeguard of peace.

It is apparent that we are shockingly unprepared. There is no

It is apparent that we are shockingly unprepared. There is no room for controversy on this point since the object lesson on the Mexican border. All our available regular troops (less, I believe, than 40,000) are there or in Mexico, and as these have been deemed insufficient the entire National Guard has been ordered out; that is, we are summoning practically all our movable military forces in order to prevent bandit incursions. In view of the warnings of the past three years, it is inexcusable that we should find ourselves in this plight.

For our faithful Guardsmen, who with a fine patriotism responded to this call and are bearing this burden, I have nothing but praise. But I think it little short of absurd that we should be compelled to call men from their shops, their factories, their offices and their professions for such a purpose. This, however, is not all. ingly unprepared. There

Needs of the Guard.

The units of the National Guard The units of the National Guard were at peace strength, which was only about one-half the required strength. It was necessary to bring in recruits, for the most part raw and untrained. Only a small percentage of the regiments recruited up to war strength will have had even a year's training in the National Guard, which at the maximum means one hundred hours of military drill, and, on the average, means much less.

Take the Eastern Department as

Take the Eastern Department as n illustration. The states in this an illustration. The states in this department contain about 72 per cent of the entire organized militia of the country. I am informed, by competent authority, that the quota of militia from this department recently summoned with the units raised to war strength as required would amount to about 181,000 men; that in response to this call there are now en route to or on the border about 55,000 men, and in camp in their respective stress about 28,000 men; and thus, after what has already been accomplished, there still remain to be supplied in recruits about 48, supplied in recruits about 48,-

No Needed Equipment.

Men fresh from their peaceful employments and physically un-prepared have been hurried to the border for actual service. They

were without proper equipment; without necessary supplies; suitable conditions of transportation were not provided.

Men with dependent families were sent; and conditions which should have been well known were discovered after the event. And yet the exigency, comparatively speaking, was not a very grave one. It involved nothing that could not readily have been foreseen during the past three years of disturbance, and required only a modest talent for organization. That this Administration while pursuing its course in Mexico should have permitted such conditions to exist is

In the demand for reasonable preparedness the Administration has followed, not led. Those who demanded more adequate forces were first described as "nervous and excited." Only about a year not a pressing one; that the country had been misinformed.

Wilson's Belated Demand.

Later, under the pressure of other leadership, this attitude was changed. The Administration, it was said, had "learned something," and it made a belated demand for Aministrative measures was nota-

bly absent.

The President addressed Con The President addressed Congress but little over six months ago, presenting the plans of the War Department, and Congress was formally urged to sanction these plans as "the essential first steps." They contemplated an increase of the standing force of the regular army from its then strength of 5.023 officers and 102,-985 enlisted men to a strength of

strength of 5.023 officers and 102.985 enlisted men to a strength of
7.136 officers and 134.707 enlisted
men, or 141.843 all told.

It was said that these additions
were "necessary to render the
army adequate for its present
duties." Further, it was proposed
that the army should be supplemented by a force of 400.000 disciplined citizens, taised in increments of 133.000 a year through a
period of three years. At least so
much "by way of preparation for much "by way of preparation for defence" seemed to the President to be "absolutely imperative now." He said: "We cannot do less."

Resignation of Garrison.

But within two menths this programme was abandoned, and the able Secretary of War who had devoted himself persistently to this important question felt so keenly the change in policy that he resigned from the Cabinet.

Now the army organization bill provides for an army on paper of I78,000, but in fact it provides for only 105,000 enlisted men for the

Its,000, but in fact it provides for only 105,000 enlisted men for the line of the regular army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1217, and I am informed that for the next fiscal year there will be an informes of only 15,000. The plan for the supplemental Federal army completely under Federal control

completely under Federal control was given up.

We are told that the defects revealed by the present mobilization are due to the "system." But it was precisely such plain defects that under the constant warnings of recent years, with the whole world intent on military concerns, should have been studied and rectified. The Administration has failed to discharge its responsibilities. Apparently, it is now seeking to meet political exigencies by its naval programme. But it has mposed upon the country an incompetent naval administration.

Adequate Defence Demanded.

Adequate Defence Demanded.

We demand adequate national defence: adequate protection on both our Western and Eastern coasts. We demand thoroughness and efficiency in both arms of the service. It seems to be plain that our regular army is too small. We are too great a country to rewe are too great a country to re-quire of our citizens who are en-gaged in peaceful vocations the sort of military service to which they are now called. As well in-sist that our citizens in this me-tropolis be summoned to put out

tropolis be summoned to put out fires and police the streets.

We do not count it inconsistent with our liberties, or with our democratic ideals, to have an ade-quate police force. With a popula-tion of nearly one hundred million we need to be surer of ourselves than to become alarmed at the prospect of having a regular army which can reasonably protect our border, and perform such other military service as may be re-

quired, in the absence of a grave emergency.

Increase in Regular Army.

I believe, further, that there should be not only a reasonable increase in the regular army, but that the first citizen reserve subject to call should be enlisted as a Federal army and trained under Federal arms are trained to the federal arms are trained to the

eral army and trained under Federal authority.

The country demands that our military and naval programmes shall be carried out in a business-like manner under the most competent administrative heads; that we shall have an up-to-date preparation; that the moneys appropriated shall be properly expended. We should also have careful plans for mobilizing our industrial resources; for promoting research and utilizing the investigations of science.

and utilizing the investigations of science.

And a policy of adequate preparedness must constantly have in view the necessity of conserving our fundamental human interests; of promoting the physical well-being of our population, as well as education and training; of developing to the utmost our economic strength and independence. It must be based upon a profound sense of our unity and democratic obligation. It must not mean the abandonment of other essential governmental work, but that we shall have, in both, efficiency, and, in neither, waste or extravagance.

Militarism Not Threatened.

Militarism Not Threatened.

We should also be solicitous, by wise prevision and conference, to remove so far as possible the causes of irritation which may in any degree threaten friendly relations. In our proposals there is, I repeat, no militarism.

There is simple insistence upon common sease in providing rea-

common sense in providing rea-sonable measures of security and avoiding the perils of neglect. We must have the strength of self-respect; a strength which contains no threat, but assures our defence, safeguards our right and conserves our peace. our peace.

The Organization of Peace.

We are deeply interested in what I may term the organization of peace. We cherish no illusions. We know that the recurrence of war is not to be prevented by pious wishes. If the conflict of national interests is not to be brought to the final test of force, there must be the development of international organization in order to provide international justice and to safeguard so far as practicable the peace of the world.

For an Arbitration Court.

Arbitration treaties are useful within their proper sphere, but it is worse than folly to ignore the limitations of this remedy or to regard such treaties as an adequate means of preventing war. There should be an international tribunal to decide controversies susceptible of judicial determination, thus affording the advantage of judicial standards in the settlement of particular disputes and of the

indicial standards in the settlement of particular disputes and of the gradual growth of a body of judicial precedents.

In emphasizing the desirability of such a tribunal for the disposition of controversies of a justiciable sert, it must not be overlooked that there are also legislative needs. We need conferences of the nations to formulate international rules, to establish principles, to modify and extend international law so as to adapt it to new conditions, to remove causes of international differences. We need to develop the instrumentalities of conciliation. And behind this international organization, if it is to be effective, must be the cooperation of the nations to prevent resort to hostilities before the appropriate agencies of peaceful settlement have been utilized.

No Foreign Entanglements.

No Foreign Entanglements.

If the peace of the world is to to maintained, it must be through the preventive power of a common purpose. Without this, it will still remain not only possible, but prac-ticable, to disregard international chligations, to override the rights of states, particularly of small states, to ignore principles, to violate rules. And it is only through international cooperation giving a reasonable assurance of peace that we may hope for the limitation of armaments. armaments.
It is to be expected that nations

It is to be expected that nations will continue to arm in defence of their respective interests, as they are conceived, and nothing will avail to diminish this burden cave some practical guaranty of international order. We in this country can, and should, maintain our fortunate freedom from entanglements with interests and policies which do not concern us. But there is no national isolation in the world of the twentieth century.

if at the close of the present war If at the close of the present war the nations are ready to undertake practicable measures in the common interest in order to secure international justice, we cannot fall to recognize our international duty. The peace of the world is our interest as well as the interest of others, and in developing the necessary agencies for the prevention of war we shall be glad to have an appropriate share. And our preparedness will have proper relation to this end as well as to our own immediate security.

Industry and Trade-A Fool's Paradise.

When we comtemplate industrial and commercial conditions we see that we are living in a fool's paradise. The temporary prosperity to which our opponents point has been created by the abnormal conditions incident to the war. With the end of the war there will be the new conditions determined by a new Europe. Millions of men in the trenches will then return to work. The energies of each of the now belligerent nations, highly trained, will then be turned to production. production.

These are days of terrible disci-pline for the nations at war, but it must not be forgotten that each is

developing a national solidarity, a knowledge of method, a realization of capacity, hitherto unapproached. In each the lessons of cooperation now being learned will never be forgotten. Friction and waste have been reduced to a minimum, labor and capital have a better under-standing, business organization is more highly developed and more intelligently directed than ever be-

We see in each of these nations a marvellous national efficiency. Let it not be supposed that this efficiency will not count when Europe, once more at peace, pushes its productive powers to the utmost limit.

To Protect Workers. On the other hand, in this coun-

on the other hand, in this country, with the stoppage of the manufacture of munitions, a host of men will be turned out of employment. We must meet the most severe competition in industry. We are undisciplined, defective in organization, loosely knit, industrial-

ly unprepared.

Our opponents promised to reduce the cost of living. This they have failed to do; but they did re-

duce the opportunities of making a living. Let us not forget the con-ditions that existed in this country under the new tariff prior to the outbreak of the war. Production had decreased, business was lan-mishing new enterprises were not nad decreased, business was lan-guishing, new enterprises were not undertaken, instead of expansion there was curtailment, and our streets were filled with the unem-aloval.

It was estimated that in the City It was estimated that in the City of New York over 300,000 were out of work. Throughout the country the jobless demanded relief. The labor commissioners of many states, and our municipal administrations, devoted themselves to the problem of unemployment, while the resources of our voluntary charitable organizations were most severely taxed.

What Ground for Hope.

What ground is ther; for expectwhat ground is there for expec-ing better conditions when the un-healthy stimulus of the war has spent its force and our industries and workingmen are exposed to the competition of an energized Eu-

competition of an energized Europe?

It is plain that we must have protective, upbuilding policies. It is idle to look for relief to the Democratic party, which as late as 1912 declared in its platform that it was "a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government, under the Constitution, had no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue."

We are told in its present platform that there have been "momentous changes" in the last two years, and hence, repudiating its former attitude, the Democratic party now declares for a "non-partisan tariff commission."

Tariff Reform a Failure.

But have the "momentous changes" incident to the European war changed the Constitution of the United States? Is it proposed to use a tariff commission to frame a tariff for revenue only? Is the opposing party ready to confess that for generations it has misread the Constitution? Is that party now prepared to accept the protective principle? Rather, so far as the tariff is concerned, it would appear to be without principle. Winness its action in connection with the sugar duties, its reaffirmation of the doctrine of a revenue tariff, its dyestuffs proposal, and its formulation in lieu of protective duties of an "anti-dumping" provision, the terms of which are sufficient to show its ineffective character! The Republican party stands for

The Republican party stands for the principle of protection. We must apply that principle fairly, without abuses, in as scientific a manner as possible; and Congress should be aided by the investigations of an expert body. We stand for the safeguarding of our economic independence, for the development of American industry, for the maintenance of American standards of living. We propose

that in the competitive struggle that is about to come the American workingman shall not suffer.

The Republican party is not a sectional party. It thinks and plans nationally. Its policies are for the promotion of the prosperity of every part of the country. South, East, North and West. It is not simply a question of a wise adjustment of the tariff in accordance with sound principle, but there is also the need in other respects for stable conditions for commercial and industrial progress.

Must Prepare Now.

Must Prepare Now.

If we are to meet effectively the conditions which will arise after the war is over, we must put our house in order. Let it be understood that the public right is to be maintained without fear or favor. But let us show that we can do this without impairing the camential agencies of progress. There is no forward movement, no endeavor to promote social justice, which in the last analysis does not rest upon the condition that not rest upon the condition that there shall be a stable basis for honest enterprise. This subject has several impor-

This subject has several impor-tant phases to which at this time I can allude only briefly. We should place our transportation system on a sure footing. We should be able wisely to adjust our reguls-tive powers so that the funda-mental object of protecting the public interest can be fully se-cuved without uncertainties or conpublic interest can be fully secured without uncertainties or conflicts and without hampering the development and expansion of tunnsportation facilities. This mational end may be accomplished without the sacrifice of any interest that is essentially local or est that is essentially local, or without weakening public con-trol. Our present system is crude and inadequate.

Monopolles Must Go.

Moreover, in the severe economic

Moreover, in the severe economic struggle that is before us, and in seeking, as we should, to promote our productive industries and to expand our commerce—notably our foreign commerce—we shall require the most efficient organization, quite as efficient as that found in any nation abread. There must be no unnecessary wastes and no arbitrary obstructions.

We have determined to cut out, root and branch, monopolistic practices, but we can do this without hobbling enterprise or narrowing the scope of legitimate achievement. Again, we must build up our merchant marine. It will not aid to put the government into competition with private owners. That, it seems to me, is a counsel of folly. A surer way of destroying the promise of our foreign trade could hardly be devised. It has been well asked—Does the government intend to operate at a profit or at a loss? We need the encouragement and protection of government for our shipping industry, but it cannot afford to have the government as a competitor.

Labor Problems

We stand for the conservation of the just interests of labor. We do not desire production, or trade, or efficiency in either, for its own sake, but for the betterment of the lives of human beings.

We shall not have any lasting industrial prosperity unless we buttress our industrial endeavors by adequate means for the protection of health; for the elimination of unnecessary perils to life and

of unnecessary perils to life and limb; for the safeguarding of our future through proper laws for pro-tection of women and children in industry; for increasing opportu-nities for education and training. We should be solicitous to inquire carefully into every systemic remembering that there are few dis-putes which cannot easily be ad-

justed if there be an impartial examination of the facts.

We make common cause in this country, not for a few but for all; and our watchword must be cooperation, not exploitation. No plans will be adequate save as they are instinct with genuine democratic sympathy.

I stand for adequate Federal workmen's compensation laws, dealing not only with the employes of government, but with those employes who are engaged in interstate commerce and are subject to the hazard of injury, so that those activities which are within the sphere of the constitutional authority of Congress may

Agriculture and Conservation

practicable means our agricultural interests, and we include in this programme an effective system of rural credits. We favor the wise

A National Trusteeship-The Philip-

We turn to other considerations of important policy. One of these is or attitude toward the Philip-pines. That, I may say, is not a question of self-interest. We have assumed international obligations which we should not permit our-selves to evade. A breach of trust is not an admissible American policy, though our opponents have

seemed to consider it such.

We should administer government in the Philippines with a full recognition of our international duty, without partisanship, with the aim of maintaining the highest standards of expert administration, and in the interest of the Fillings. This is a matter of na-This is a matter of na-

Woman Suffrage

I indorse the declaration in the platform in favor of won in suffrage. I do not consider it necessary to review the arguments usually advanced on the one side or the other, as my own convictions proceed from a somewhat different point of view.

Some time ago a consideration of our economic conditions and tendencies, of the position of women in gainful occupations, of the nature and course of the demand, led me to the conclusion that the granting of suffrage to

that the granting of suffrage to women is inevitable. Opposition may delay but in my judgment cannot defeat this movement. Nor can I see any advantages in the delay which can possibly offset the

disadvantages which are neces sarily incident to the continued agitation. Facts should be square

ly met.

We shall have g constantly intensified effort and a distinctly
feminist movement constantly perfecting its organization, to the subversion of normal political issues.

We shall have a struggle increasing in bitterness, which I believe
to be inimical to our welfare. If women are to have the vote, as I believe they are, it seems to me entirely clear that in the interest of the public life of this country the contest should be ended promptly. I favor the vote for women.

Administrative Efficiency Budget Confronting every effort to im-

incompetent administration. It is an extraordinary notion that democracy can be faithfully served by inexpertness. Democracy needs excet knowledge, special skill and thorough training in its servants. I have already spoken of the disregard of proper standards, in numerous instances, in appointments to the diplomatic service.

Unfortunately there has been a similar disregard of executive responsibility in appointments to important administrative positions in our domestic service. Even with respect to technical bureaus the

our domestic service. Even with respect to technical bureaus the demands of science have been com-pelled to yield to the demands of

Opposes the Spoilsmen.

We have erected against importunities of spoilsmen the barriers of the civil service laws, but under the present Administration enactments providing for the creation of large numbers of places have been deliberately removed from the merit system. The principles of cur civil service laws have been shamelessly violated. We stand for fidelity to these principles and their consistent application. And, further, it is our purpose that administrative chiefs shall be men of special competence, eminently special competence, eminently cualified for their important work. Our opponents promised econcmy, but they have shown a reckless extravagance. They have been wasteful and profligate. It is time

mand a simple, businessine budget. I believe it is only through a responsible budget, proposed by Executive that we shall avocial waste and secure proceed and waste and secure processing the security of the Future of America.

We live in a fateful hour. In a true sense, the contest for the preservation of the nation is never ended. We must still be imputed with the spirit of heroic sacrifice which gave us our country and brought us safely through the days of still war.

brought us safely through the days
of civil wst.

We renew our pledge to the ancient ideals of individual liberty,
of opportunity denied to none because of race or creed, of unawerving loyalty. We have a vision of
America prepared and senure;
strong and just; equal to her
tarks; an exemplar of the capacity
and efficiency of a free people. I
indorse the platform adopted by
the convention and accept its nomination. EXPLOSION CLAIMS ADJUSTED

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To attemit, however, to control the domestic concerns of Mexico was simply intervention, not less so because disclaimed. The height of folly was to have a vaculating and ineffective intervention, which could only cooke bitterness and contempt, which would fail to pacify the country and to assure peace and prosperity under a stable government. If crimes were committed, we do not pallinte them. We make no defence of Huerta. But the Administration had nothing to do with the moral character of Huerta, if in fact be represented the government of Mexico. We shall never worthly prosecute our unselfish aims or serve humanity, by wrongneadedness.

Dealings With Villa. Dealings With Villa. So far as the character of Huerta is concerned, the hollow-